December 1953

Fellowship

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Acme Photo

A voice was heard
in Ramah,
Weeping and great
mourning,
Rachel weeping for
her children;
And she would not
be comforted. . . .

Matt. 2:18

20¢

The Struggle for Power

by John M. Swomley, Jr.

ff Christmas . . . Above all else—the philosophical agonizing about justice, the political dilemmas—we must not forget what war really is in terms of human beings. That is the reason for FELLOWSHIP's cover picture this month of Advent, of a modern Mother and Child, from North Korea—one of the "enemy." . . . "Are we in a period of calm before the storm? Are we in for general war or limited wars or for a period of negotiation and precarious peace?"—these are the questions tackled by John Swomley in our lead article. . . . That ever refreshing gadfly of a writer, Milton Mayer, who can keep even fellow pacifists prancing and who has gained something of a reputation for "sitting out" wars, gives new reasons for deciding to sit out the next one. . . . Everyone seems to agree that the work of the specialized UN agencies is less frustrating than that of its political bodies. This conclusion is possible mainly because their results are of a "measurable" nature, and we all more or less adept at evaluating statistics. *A Modern Miracle*, you'll find, reads like a UNICEF success story, with an ending inconclusive but definitely on the happy side.

FELLOWSHIP

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21 Audubon Avenue
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JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.
Acting Secretary

A. J. MUSTE
Secretary-Emeritus

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

COLLETTE SCHLATTER
Assistant Editor

STANLEY ROBINSON
Art Director

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Howard Thurman

Member, Associated Church Press

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen!

This is the time of Yule, the time for greetings, and for cries of encouragement and cheer to those who need them. It being so, FELLOWSHIP pauses long enough to send greetings to some of its subversive friends, of whom, in this Yuletide of easy subversion, there are many.

To all conscientious objectors everywhere, as they bend their efforts to subvert the faith of governments of the left, right and center in the reliability of war as an instrument of securing national security. Greetings!

To all pacifists everywhere, Christians and Jews, Buddhists and Mohammedans and Hindus, humanitarians and atheists, of whatever size, weight, skin color and degree of respectability, who glory in the subversiveness of their notion that good will and nonviolence will serve humanity better than humanity's own devotion to violence. Greetings!

To Robin Hood, whose delightfully irreverent custom of stealing from the rich to give to the poor has now been officially labelled "Communist" by an earnest lady patriot in Indiana, and who seems likely to be banned from the schools and libraries of that sovereign state. Salutations!

To all men and women in prison or exile for the sake of principle, whose actions, even if the principle be wrong, restore a measure of faith in the ability of man to be other than a carbon copy. Best wishes!

To the pastor of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Indianapolis, who brought down on his head the wrath of his Archbishop for providing a meeting-place for the American Civil Liberties Union when it had been denied a state-owned War Memorial Building and the Knights of Columbus Hall after an attack by the American Legion. Courage!

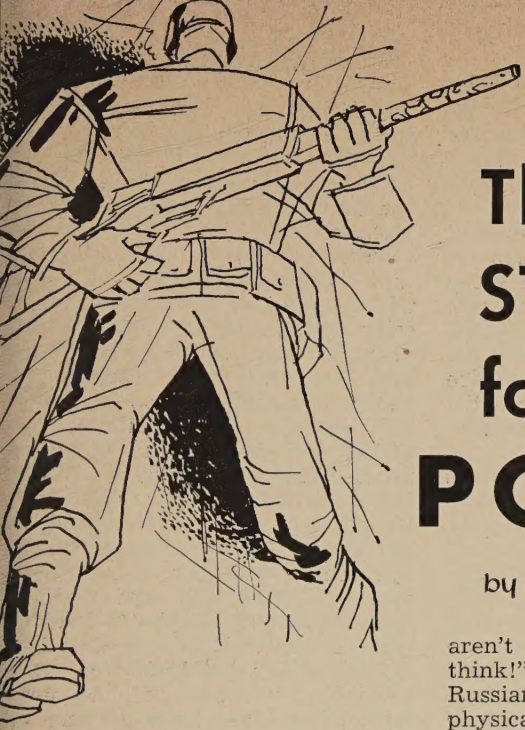
To all brave souls who, standing before the Inquisitors, state their own convictions forthrightly but refuse to bear witness against former comrades. Greetings!

To hermits, pioneers, itinerant preachers, and people who organize intentional communities, seeking in diverse ways to escape the deadly stereotype of a society whose god is success and whose taboo is nonconformity. Best wishes!

And to those who, led by lust for power or betrayed by lack of faith, persecute their brethren, destroy freedom and violate conscience—greetings, too. The word that came from Bethlehem was for you, too; lift up your hearts and believe!

From the murmur and subtlety of suspicion
With which we vex one another,
Give us rest.
Make a new beginning
And mingle again the kindred of nations
In the alchemy of love,
And with some finer essence of forbearance
Temper our mind.

—ARISTOPHANES.



The STRUGGLE for POWER

by John M. Swomley, Jr.

In this article the acting FOR Secretary attempts a prognosis of the next ten or twenty years of world history. Although he probes the "prospect for peace" question from a point of view consistent with that of other political and economic students, he is careful to remind us in the end that "there is nothing certain or static about *any* analysis of the power struggle."

"DOES War Worry You?" was the intriguing title of an article in a recent issue of a military journal. The author, a lieutenant colonel, added in a subtitle: "We can't afford the fears and misconceptions that we all hear about the enemy, so let's face up to the facts—they aren't as bad as we sometimes think!" By this he meant that the Russians are not superior mentally, physically or in equipment to American troops. He was very much concerned with the toughness of mind of Americans, for he asked each reader to ponder this question: "How mentally prepared am I for more war?"

When the Korean truce was arranged, there were those in the Pentagon and some in the Stock Exchange who wondered what peace would do to the size of the Army and, hence, to the armaments business. They would have phrased the question a bit differently: "How mentally prepared am I for peace?"

If it were possible with these two questions to take a world public opinion poll, it is quite likely that the bulk of the people would be mentally prepared neither for more war nor for real peace. They

do not want war, but they have seen too much of it to believe that "the times have changed." The signs they see on the horizon are in many respects similar to signs seen in other uneasy periods of man's history.

Within recent months, however, there has been a relaxation of tension on the international scene that has led politicians, generals, economists, as well as others of us, to take a new look for signs on the horizon. Will the truce last? Are we in a period of calm before the storm? Are we in for a general war or limited wars or for a period of negotiation and precarious peace?

An Economic Analysis

One very popular thesis at present is that there will probably not be a general or global war within the next twenty years. This is the point of view of about thirty leading American students of the Soviet Union's economic strength. On May 5, 1952, at a meeting near West Point, New York, these analysts, in the presence of personnel from key U.S. government agencies, read papers which indicated that the rate of Soviet economic growth will not narrow the present gap between American and Soviet economic power until about 1970. Soviet production in 1970, one economist suggested, will be quantitatively equal to that of the United States in 1950. The Soviet population will have grown by then to about 260 or 270 million, which means that the per capita output would be only 55 to 60 per cent as great as in the United States in 1950. However, despite a somewhat general belief that the U.S.S.R. is a great agricultural nation, her agricultural resources are limited, and there is relatively little likelihood of an increase sufficient to keep pace with the expected population increase and at the same time to improve the low quality of the diet.

There are several implications of this analysis: (1) The U.S.S.R. will not be in a position economically within the next twenty years to launch and sustain a major global war effort; (2) During this period her rapid economic growth will increase her military capability, thus posing year by year a great military threat to the Western world. In turn, this would lead to greater international tension. (3) Soviet food needs may result in some de-emphasis on heavy industrial production and, hence, military output, in order to concentrate on agricultural exploitation. On the other hand, fear of food shortages, whether real or projected, has often been a cause of territorial expansion and war.

Considering the Risks

Another thesis is that of Pentagon officials. Their reasoning follows their conception of military strategy. No enemy, they feel, will risk its national existence by launching a global war unless it has a substantial degree of military superiority and a reasonably foolproof strategy for victory. American military might is so great and our bases so extensive, they feel that no nation is likely within the foreseeable future to run the risk of a major war with the United States. On the other hand, Russia has such military and geo-political power as to make American mili-

tary men uncertain of the long-term outcome of global war if *we* should launch one.

So long as U.S. military might is expanding and equal or superior to Soviet might, the generals are confident. When some Soviet advance is known, they express fear until they are given new money or power to match the advance.

This reasoning is what leads American generals alternately to express confidence that there will be no war with Russia, and fear that there will be. This is what has led the Pentagon to abandon the idea of setting a critical year as a target date for war preparation and, at the same time, to intensify the arms race.

The implications of this reasoning are: (1) In the present uneasy military equilibrium, neither side is likely to precipitate a global war; (2) Both sides are likely to continue the arms race, thus causing mounting tension; (3) Both sides will continue to court or otherwise secure allies in Asia, Africa and Europe in the hope of adding to their manpower and economic potential and their military might so as to end the present balance of power.

Opposition to War

There are a number of political factors which have a bearing on the outlook for peace. Some parts of the world have not yet recovered from the Second World War. Parts of the Soviet Union as well as Germany, Japan, Poland, Austria, Italy, and the Balkans still have visible remains of war's destruction. Economically and psychologically these peoples are not ready to support another war. This is evident in the lethargy about rearmament, the popularity of neutralism and the receptivity people give to any talk of peace, whether in the form of the Soviet "peace offensive," the Churchill proposal for top level negotiation, or the Eisenhower talk of world reconstruction and universal reduction of arms. Again and again, Soviet and American leaders have had to take into account this popular feeling against war.

Preparation for War

On the other hand, the people do not oppose war so strongly as to reject preparation for it. At the present time, there are some 20 million men in active military duty in the various nations of the world, and about one-ninth of the world's gross produce, or more than 100 billion dollars, is annually being spent on military preparation for war. This millstone around the neck of the world makes it impossible to chart a course toward real peace.

Some sections of the world are either so involved in their own problems or so eager to remain neutral in the U.S.-U.S.S.R. power struggle that they cannot be identified as partisans of either side. India is the most clearly identifiable example of this group. To some extent there are groups within a number of Asian, African, European and South American nations that are consciously opposed to both sides in the power struggle. Frequently one hears hopes that India and these other third-force groups will give the world creative leadership for peace. Such objectivity and neutrality as these forces offer is helpful at the present

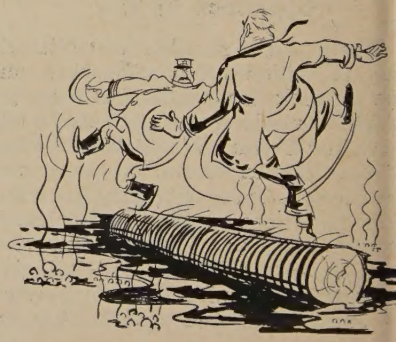
stage of history, but it is not enough. India's willingness to use military might in Kashmir, the willingness of neutralist groups in Britain to use force to defend Hong Kong or other parts of the empire, the willingness of some groups in Asia, Africa and South America to support violence in revolution—these do not offer any hope of real leadership for peace. Rather, as American neutralist experience prior to two world wars indicates, they will go to war if they have a big enough stake in the outcome. Both Russia and America are constantly seeking to draw such groups into their power orbits and to give them just such a stake. Insofar as each side tries to convince such groups that it is peace-loving, there is somewhat of a brake upon war. But such efforts at peace in the context of seeking a military power advantage are also steps in the direction of ultimate war.

Weaknesses and Strengths

The recent revolts in East Germany and Czechoslovakia and the rumblings in other parts of Eastern Europe have dramatized the weakness of Soviet influence among these allies. This, say some analysts, is evidence that Russia cannot think of war without expectation of serious revolt. Similarly, leftist trends in Italy, in Guatemala and British Guiana, to mention only a few soft spots in the Western armor, are pointed to by the U.S.S.R. as evidence that American influence is declining. On the other hand, both sides can point to stronger allies in 1953 than they had in 1948. On the American side, Western Germany; on the Soviet side, China. Both becaus of this weakness in Eastern Europ and growing German strength, th Soviet Union feels a threat simila to that which the United State feels in the Far East with Chin looking covetously at Formos Indo-China and other parts Asia.

For the time being, neither sid seems ready to press its advan ages openly, though each is usin propaganda, economic and polit cal weapons, and, in some case cloak and dagger tactics again the other.

One of the most importan characteristics of the world toda is its "revolutionary" aspect. South ern Asia, Africa and South Amer ica are all troubled with povert and imperialism. The people wan quick, drastic social change. I some cases their demands are d rected against their own rulin group; in other cases again French, British, Dutch or othe foreign rule. In all cases, th United States is increasingl thought of as being allied with th ruling interests. The Soviet Unio which does not have the same stak in the status quo as the Unite States, constantly backs the revo



lutionary elements. There are those who believe that until one side or the other wins a decisive victory in this revolutionary struggle, chiefly in Southern Asia and Africa, the stage will not be set for global war. This, they contend, is the time for limited wars, as in Indo-China, not the time for ultimate showdown. But if either side begins to get a significant edge in the struggle for Asia and Africa, the losing side may feel "it is now or never," as the Japanese felt just before Pearl Harbor when they saw American power growing in the Pacific. If the losing side does not think in terms of precipitating war, the winning power is likely to think in terms of steadily increasing its hegemony over the world, thus leading to open conflict.

Long Range Hopes

Political moderates who regret this power struggle propose remedies such as economic aid, technical aid, and the upbuilding of the standard of living of Asian and African people. They have found no way of achieving their goal, however, since so much energy is being poured into military and power ventures. Pacifists and some political radicals who are not partisans of East or West pin their hopes on the emergence of movements in Asia and Africa that will reject Russian and American militarism and use some type of revolutionary nonviolence. These hopes appear to be long range hopes rather than immediate political possibilities in terms of the next two to five years, which is another way of saying that it is still too early to tell what impact the Gandhian and Socialist forces of India will have there and what may come from nonviolent forces in Central and Southern Africa. It is not too early, though, to encourage these groups.

Some pacifists and many liberal non-pacifists hope for some universal agreement to disarm. They have been unable to shake the conviction of political and military leaders that there is no immediate alternative to military strength. They have at best succeeded in persuading those who are supporting rearmament also to endorse *ultimate* universal disarmament.

Under these circumstances, it is small wonder that talk of disarmament by agreement offers little hope. This pessimism was expressed by many U.N. delegates in their reaction to the American position on contributing to an Economic Development fund for underdeveloped nations only if there were general disarmament. The October 22, 1953 *New York Times* reported: "Many smaller delegations felt that in tying the creation of the fund to the beginning of disarmament, the United States was postponing its participation in the project indefinitely. As one delegate, who is virtually always friendly to this country, put it after the meeting today: 'The United States might just as well have said "We'll support the fund when the moon turns blue."'"

In one of his last public statements, Stalin indicated his feeling that there were more contradictions or forces within the capitalist West that would lead them into war with each other than there were between East and West. It is obvious that there are such contradictions in the Western alli-

ance. The Italian-Yugoslav dispute over Trieste, the possibility of French-German rivalry in Europe are straws in the wind. But Stalin was not sufficiently convinced of his own analysis to weaken or decrease Soviet military strength as over against American strength.

On the other hand, there is probably a lot of truth to oft-repeated assertions by Soviet officials, as well as by visitors to the Soviet Union, that the tremendous building and construction program in Russia and the absence of air raid drills or other war-inducing psychology are indicative that they do not want war and do not expect it in the immediate future. This means simply that Russia herself does not want to become involved directly in war. It proves nothing with respect to Russia's indirect involvement in wars in Korea, Indo-China, etc. Americans who remember the period between world wars may recall our deep conviction against involvement in war while at the same time maintaining Marines in Nicaragua and China and attempting to influence or control events in other parts of the world. The situation is not entirely comparable, but it is possible for Russia to want no involvement in war and at the same time to support guerrilla warfare or limited warfare in Indo-China or Korea.

Some Conclusions

At this writing the following tentative conclusions seem to be warranted:

1. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union is ready for or wants a global war. This situation may last for ten or twenty years, though the shift of event could alter any time prediction.

2. There is likely to be a perio of continued cold war, includin some limited warfare, chiefly i Asia and Africa. In these struggle the United States and the Sovie Union will be arrayed on opposit sides.

3. There may be periods, such a the present, when tension is some what relaxed, but there is nc likely to be any permanent relaxa tion so long as both sides continu to think in military and powe terms.

The Struggle Continues

4. Nations at the peak of thei power like Russia and America ar not likely to agree to relinquis that power, particularly whe their economic life and politica leadership are at stake.

5. The course of world event may be shaped more by what hap pens in Asia and Africa in the nex ten or twenty years than by wha happens in Russia and the Unite States. Movements within Russia or American territory may never theless have great influence i Asia and Africa, as a strong paci fist movement in Britain un doubtedly had on the Gandhia movement in India.

6. The world will have breathing spell in which to try t avoid a global war.

7. The only ultimate hope fo averting global war lies in move ments which reject war rathe than accommodate themselves t war. Movements and nations tha will support war *"if"* and thos that are for peace *"but"* will offe no hope to the world. Similarly movements against war that ar

conditional upon some other nation's disarming or getting out of the war system are likely to be futile.

8. The world scene today is not an optimistic one. Threats of war are never hopeful. Nor is a revolutionary situation pleasing to those who in any way have identified themselves with the status quo. On the other hand, the fact that millions are eagerly seeking social change is both an indication that there is nothing certain or static about any analysis of the power struggle and an opportunity for pacifists to support and encourage nonviolent change. We must keep in mind the possibility that world events may be influenced more by quality of action than by quantity of numbers. This is the sociological testimony of Jesus and Gandhi. This is not to suggest that a handful of pacifists will end war. Rather, it is an affirmation that in a moral universe such leadership speaks to the condition of people as that governed by expediency never can.

The Sun and the Umbrella

THE CHURCH OF THE UNIVERSAL GOD will develop such an inviolable community that for its members war becomes unthinkable. The early Christian Church refused totalitarianism and war, without repudiating civil authority. What rare wisdom born from above! The enactment of God's universal community in the fullness of time is more important for social improvement than any other action. God has created nature and guides history as a whole. He works in them in accordance with the rules of their natures; accordingly loyalty and sacrifice on man's common level of insight and commitment are to be honored. Ours is not to judge the loyalties of honorable people tangling with tough political problems.

But confessing Christians should live in a new age of human history, an age where the true community from heaven has been revealed through Jesus Christ. Those who know the reality of the experience of the new age within the love of God know as obviously as light is not dark that universal community and war are basically contradictory; and that their own total loyalty to God's will coincides with the inviolable community in Christ. Those who are new creatures within the Gospel of the grace of God do not argue about war; nor do they try simply to persuade the people who are not yet on this level of life to give up war. They witness, rather, to the reality within the love of God of the new community of the new age, within which war is no longer a question. The Church of the one God and the one world transcends redemptively such conflicts as war among its own groups. Such transcendence is ever for the world as a whole, the winning witness to the kind of community to which all men are called by the grace of God.

"All the king's horses and all the king's men could not divert the world from the course which has brought it to its present pass; what, then, can I do, one man?"

SIT THIS ONE OUT ?

by Milton Mayer

JUST before the Second World War began, I decided to sit it out and said so. ("I Think I'll Sit This One Out!" *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 7, 1939.) I was younger then. Now I am older, and they tell me that blood is the milk of old men.

My position fourteen years ago was not religious. I decided against war on rational grounds and proclaimed myself a moral and social revolutionary. War, I thought, required men to violate their moral and social nature and employed, in its own nature, disproportionate means to the ends it pursued. I was sure—so young was I—that the Second World War would fail, like the first, to save the world for democracy.

Although I believed at the time that man's nature is God-given, I did not advance that most certain of arguments but rested my case, rather, on the evidence of thing seen. I was not persuasive; the wa went forward, ending at last, in a unconditional victory over th forces of darkness.

I was then, as I am now, a Jew I was, as I am now, a fellow traveler of many Christian agen cies, but it never occurred to m that I should become a Christia or even, in a sense, that I shou want to. I knew I was not goo enough to be a Christian *or* a Jew But Judaism was stuck with m And the fact that I was not a goo Jew did not entitle me to be a ba Christian. In addition, but by n means incidentally, my fait seemed to me to require that Jew be a Jew not only in God eyes and his own, but also in th world's; a point which has to b (and has been) argued elsewher

I have not made much progre in these past fourteen years. M

prospect of rejection by the armed forces has improved, but I cannot say the same of my prospect of acceptance in higher circles, such as the Empyrean. I have, however, met some interesting people. In a period of national ecstasy my melancholy views had relieved me of some of my business connections, and I found that time was cheaper to come by than business —and very little less profitable, what with taxes and all. I took time to acquaint myself with Holy Writ and with holy men and was drawn, through God's grace, mistaken identity, or false pretenses, into progressively deeper association with religious activities, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant.

Holy Testimony

I discovered that the Jewish Law permits a man to be peaceable and, indeed, unless God's call to the contrary is clear, requires him to be. I discovered that, for those Jews who read the Law equivocally, Christianity, which came to fulfill the Law, was clear and rigid on the point. "Ye have heard that it hath been said. . . . But I say unto. . . ."

I discovered that Jesus took the peaceable way, offered it to a young man of flesh and blood, and taught it not only to disciples but to the multitude; that the peaceable Wayfarer was given His armament to carry not by His friends, but by His enemies, and at the end of the way was nailed to it; that the sword and the knout which were spoken of were not the sword of Acheson and Dulles and the knout of Hitler, Stalin, and McCarthy; and that when President Eisenhower, defending his rejection of clemency for the Rosenbergs, said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," he was quoting a reply to a question asked in wickedness.

If I am wrong about all these things, I am mortally wrong. I know that many who come in Christ's name, with better preparation than mine, are against me. Still, in these fourteen years, I have found support in a very small minority of every communion which professes Christ. And when the World Council of Churches announced, in 1948, that "war is contrary to the will of God," I rejoiced that my view of God's will had found its way into the church councils of this world. But when, in its next breath, the World Council said that there were *three* Christian attitudes toward war, I thought of the words of the Lord to my ancestor Isaiah, "Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels," and of the words of the Lord to my ancestor Zephaniah, "I said, 'Surely thou wilt fear me, thou wilt receive instruction,' but they rose early, and corrupted all their doings." I did not dare to think of what Jesus said of those whom he found in Moses' seat: "Do not ye after their works, for they say, and do not."

A "Just" War?

In Catholicism, too, especially in Europe, I found support, even in the Church Fathers; although the doctrine of the just war was widely asserted and very widely accepted among Catholics. Now the "just war" doctrine threw me back to my 1939 position, for justice is a social question.

As I could not see then, so I could not see later how a war could be just which required the

injury of the innocent, as all wars did; or how a war could be just in which two unoffending children of God, each with a gun pointed at the back of his head, were compelled to kill one another, as in all wars they were; or how justice could be subjected to the test of violence, as in every war it was. In a word, I could not see how any war, fought for whatever purposes, or with whatever provocation, could be just.

Within Limits

In the March 2, 1951, issue of *The Commonweal,* Father F. H. Drinkwater, of England, affirmed the following proposition, under the title, "War and Conscience": "War is lawful in a just cause, in which case the citizen must obey the call of his government; and all who wage war are under the obligation of keeping it within the limits of reason, justice, and humanity." "'In a just cause,'" said Father Drinkwater, "means to set right some grave public injustice committed against the natural law, grave enough to be commensurate with the evils inevitably accompanying the use of force." Now I had heard about the natural law. I had not, however, heard that it was guaranteed by governments, but, on the contrary, that it was sometimes blotted out by governments (*Summa Theologica,* Q. XCIV, A. 6 *ad* 3). I had not heard of a government's calling its citizens to war in a cause which the government said was unjust, and I could even imagine a Catholic's rejecting the call of his government in, say, Communist Russia, to fight in a cause which his government would most assuredly say was just.

All who wage war are under the obligation of keeping it within the limits of reason, justice, and humanity. One reads those words in the Age of Korea, passing his fingers over them on the paper as a blind man does Braille. "The primitive hydrogen bomb tested at Eniwetok . . . was between 150 and 250 times more powerful than . . . Hiroshima. . . . The fireball of the bomb would cause killing third-degree burns on exposed skin within an area of 300 square miles." *All who wage war. . . .* One reads those words written by a gentle man who has lived in the Age of Warsaw and Dresden. *All who wage war. . . .* In 1221 A.D. the Crusaders, retiring from Syria, stopped off in Egpyt, set siege to the rich port of Damietta, and took it after 65,000 of its 75,000 inhabitants had died of starvation and plague. In 416 B.C. the Athenians offered the poor islanders of Melos the choice of alliance or massacre, and the Melians having refused alliance on the ground of justice (to which the Athenians replied "You and everybody else, having the same power we have, would do the same as we do,") were massacred, except for the women and children, who were sold into slavery. Democratic America, Christian Europe, Periclean Greece. *All who wage war. . . .* A pre-atomic countryman of Father Drinkwater's said, "He who mounts the wild elephant goes where the wild elephant goes."

Now the Communists

My association with Holy Writ and with holy men left me, in the years immediately after the Second World War, where I was in the years immediately before.

And then came the Communist conspiracy.

Although I hoped (and still do) that I would never say so under duress, I was not then, and am not now, and never have been a Communist or a member of a Communist or Communist-front organization. It seemed to me that totalitarianism, of which Communism was one form and Fascism and National Socialism others, was the consequence of many root evils; that the central evil of these was the failure of faith in God, which brought on many evils besides war; and that war spread totalitarianism. There was certainly more totalitarianism after the last two victorious world wars than there had been before they were won. On this extrapolation, it seemed to me that the totalitarians could afford to lose the wars, while the anti-totalitarians could not even afford to win them.

Communism now ruled half the world, not at all conspiratorially, but quite openly and aggressively. Who was this Communist? He was, according to the man who invented him, the proletarian, numbered in the hundreds of millions. He had nothing to sell but his labor; nothing to lose but his chains; no visible stake in the social order; and no inhibition against putting it to the torch. And it was, of all things, war (not defeat, but war) which reduced men to this condition and produced proletarians. Thus, the more war—win, lose or draw—the more Communism. And if war was the last resort against Communism, it was not resort at all.

But I had by now reached the advanced age where my country, at least in the beginning of the 1950's, did not want me to stand on my flat feet and fight. It wanted me only to buy the hire of healthy young men. Healthy young men, in America, in Russia, were a dime a dozen; my country wanted my dime. And so, if I were to sit *this* one out I should have to withhold my dime, or some part of it, from my country. But this would be civil disobedience, which was not protected in the statutes of my own or any other country and, until the nature of the state should change, never would be.

This would be very deep water, indeed. I could not resist the violence of my country against my goods. I had to acquire goods to support my family; I had to earn money for the goods; and tax refusal was *in fact* impossible. Still, if I could not resist my country's violence, at least I could resist, and overcome, my voluntary support of it. My country would come and take what it wanted from me —and even get more, since interest

would be charged on the unpaid portion of the dime, than it would otherwise get. But I should then be the unwilling victim of war, and not its accomplice. My young countrymen were unwilling victims; their contribution had to be seized. Why should I, their old countryman, batten on war, when they were dying of it?

As Others See Us

Meanwhile, I had spent a year on the faculty of a German university, studying the development of totalitarianism in the lives of people who have much more in common with us than the Russians have. I had learned that it was possible for a whole people, and a modern Western people at that, to "go" totalitarian, to invite a totalitarian dictatorship, and, alas, to enjoy it.

My study of Germany put me on my warning. The Germans in the '30's had not been able to see themselves as others saw them. I tried to see my own country as it was seen from outside in the '50's. The Western European—not just German—views I encountered were distressing. My country was no longer regarded as the land of the free, but as the land of the rich. It was no longer regarded as the home of the brave, but as the home of the hysterical. Other Western Europeans had learned from the German experience that anti-Communist militarism as a way of national life was ruinous. They were trying to avoid it, and they thought that we were not.

Western Europeans wanted to know what the difference was between the totalitarians' use of the word "freedom" to describe slavery and the Americans' use of the term "free world" to describe an alliance which included among others, the Communist regime of Yugoslavia and the Fascist regime of Spain. They wanted to know if it was possible for us rich to understand the susceptibility of the very poor to totalitarianism and if we were interested in giving of our substance, and not of our unmarketable surplus, to reduce that susceptibility. They wanted to know if we were Christian, or even wise, to give people iron who asked for bread. They wanted to know if we could imagine—they knew we didn't know—what war is and whether we supposed that we had cut ourselves off so completely from European civilization that we could survive civilized with Europe burned up or, indeed, survive at all. Their questions were not heroic, but they were hard.

I came home, to my own country, convinced that my support of anti-Communist militarism, and of the evils of mistrust and of terror it had already induced, would encompass my country's ruin. This I could not, as a patriot, do. But I found that the minority actively opposed to war—to a war, this time, that would not end abroad—was much smaller than it had been in 1939. What was the reason?

My country had not in the beginning been strongly anti-Nazi, but it was strongly anti-Communist. That was one reason. My country had not seen Nazism as a deadly peril to its religious and economic systems, but it did so see Communism. For a century and a half identification of disturbers—"anarchists," "socialists"—with Russia had prepared my country for the day when my country and Russia would no longer be separated by Europe and Asia. That was another

reason. And the spirit of militarism—against which President Wilson called us to war in 1917—had overtaken my country after being twice defeated in war. That was another reason.

Persons who talked for peace or worked for peace or prayed aloud for peace were disadvantaged and even, in places, mistreated. A voluntary totalitarianism, a dictatorship of nearly all the people, by nearly all the people, and for nearly all the people, was threatening my country. Many of the few Christians who opposed the Second World War turned out, to their own amazement, to have been peaceable toward Nazis, but not toward Communists, and many of the very few Jews who opposed war against the Nazis were hesitant now, in their always insecure situation, to oppose war against the Communists.

Man's Only Hope

The going against war was tough. The need for discussion of the most serious matters was desperate, but discussion was being discouraged. Communism was a very serious matter, nothing less than a false religion. We were all against it, but what were we all *for*? What was the true religion with which Communism would be opposed, if it were to be opposed at all?

Underneath all the horrors of Communist—as of Fascist or Nazi—totalitarianism was something that made it a false religion and not just a false organization of society. Underneath all the horrors of Communist totalitarianism was the communal principle of Jesus Christ's own congregation—a religious principle, perverted by violence as its means and misdirected toward the state as its end. And underneath all the blessings of capitalist parliamentarianism was the betrayal of the congregation by Ananias and Sapphira, the first Christians who tried to practice a little free enterprise on the side.

In this dark confusion—in which only the bombs bursting in air give proof through the night that our flag is still there—I am compelled to conclude that the social revolution of the peaceable person is not the best hope of man—his choices are not so luxuriant as that—but his only hope this side of Paradise. But the social revolution, says Maritain, will be a moral revolution or it will not be at all; he does not need to add, as, I dare say, I do, that the moral revolution will be a religious revolution or it will not be at all, either.

All the king's horses and all the king's men could not divert the world from the course which has brought it to its present pass. What, then, can I do, one man? I can only change myself, with the help that horses and men have not given me, and change the world by only so much as I can change myself. If the League of Nations and the United Nations could not disarm the world by a single man, what can I do?—I can disarm the world by a single man.

If God Calls . . .

Allegiance to my country, in this pass, certainly requires peaceable behavior of me. So does justice. But I say I would throw them both to the winds if God called me to war. Allegiance to God subsumes

—and, if necessary, supersedes—allegiance to country. And I am too well aware of what was said to Job to let justice stand in the way of allegiance. If God called me to war, I would go. And so, I suppose, I am not a pacifist and never will be, but some sort of revolutionary still.

I cannot see that it was God who called us to the war that ended in Hiroshima. (If it was, He has since changed allies and enemies on us in the most frivolous fashion.) I see that he bade us to suffer with His suffering children, but not to inflict any suffering on any of them in any case. Vengeance, He said, was His. Nor can I see that it is He who calls us to the war that will end in Hiroshimas everywhere to perpetuate a system in which most of His children have been equally hungry slaves against a system in which all of His children would be equally hungry slaves.

After the abomination of desolation, we are told, there shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in the heavens, so bright that it can not be mistaken. Meanwhile we are told to be afflicted, but not to afflict, to be killed, but not to kill, to be hated but not to hate, and to "endure unto the end."

The Bombs Get Bigger

The new technology of war, which may well achieve the abomination of desolation, could not possibly affect this prescription. The old technology was perfectly adequate to the purpose of men and nations that were bent upon blackening their souls. If the H-bomb kills a thousand innocents to the A-bomb's one, I shall not be guiltless because I have only killed one. Those who prophesied i olden times were not given cabine posts unless, as one of them said they prophesied smooth things, an those who prophesied in 1939 wer lucky if the worst name they wer called was Cassandra. But Cas sandra was not supposed to b popular; she was supposed to b right, and she was.

In Conclusion

Four hundred years before Chris the Greeks were enjoined by thei teacher in Athens not to retur evil for evil or to injure anyone a all. They put their teacher t death—he was an old man anywa —but it did them no good. Anothe and greater Teacher—as H warned His countrymen—came i his place four hundred years late His teaching differed from th Greek's in that He spoke as on having authority. He did not as questions. He issued command ments. I cannot believe that thos who defy the greater Teacher wi get off more lightly than those wh defied the lesser.

It seems to be that I must s this one out, too, more or less com fortably than last time, but muc better consoled. There is a tim to consider, and a time to tempo rize; a time to compromise, and time to wonder; a time to yield and a time to wait, and a time t pray. All this I know. But there i a time, too, before man's mout is closed, to say no when he is of fered the choice of two evil which are neither contradictory i themselves nor exhaustive alter natives.

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. . . the story of UNICEF in asia

A MODERN MIRACLE

by S. M. Keeny

This off-the-cuff report by UNICEF's Regional Director for Asia gives a comprehensive picture of the work being done on that vast continent to relieve the people somewhat from the crushing burden of disease. We have been given permission to reprint this report pretty much as it was presented to UNICEF's Executive Board on September 9. (UNICEF, may we remind you, is the popular designation for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.)

I HAVE returned only forty-eight hours ago from Bangkok, with stopovers in Burma, East Pakistan, India and West Pakistan. Against this background, it is hard for one who has been thinking primarily in terms of the Indian village to comment to an audience in this setting (no doubt one of the committee rooms in the impressive UN building—*Ed. note*). For the first day or two, one never pushes an electric switch without remembering that UNICEF is trying to bring help to a world that goes to bed at dark and must be astir at dawn because there is no light. He doesn't turn a water tap without feeling: (1) surprise that water comes out of the tap at all; (2) amazement if it is hot; and (3) a warning not to drink it. He thinks that, if he could take back to the village the facilities from the men's room, half of the health problems of Asia would be solved, and if he could take the free soap as well, yaws might eventually disappear too.

We in the field are often impatient; but that action does take place within a few months from the time this body decides what to do is a miracle unique to our time. It seems even more amazing when I reflect that the diseases we are helping to attack could not have been fought at all when I was the age of the children we are treating, and that two out of the three mass programmes (malaria and yaws) could not have been undertaken

even ten years ago because the key discoveries had not been made.

Across the huge chasm that separates this building from the village it is pledged to help, some misunderstandings in the popular mind still exist. Some of these are:

1. *That the people are happy as they are.* It is true the people are more patient, and therefore presumably more emotionally mature when one compares, for example, the crowd packed into an Indian train with the tourists returning under the "hardships" of a Super-Constellation flight from Paris to New York. But anyone who thinks that an Indonesian mother is content that her child has the sores of yaws or that the family is wracked with malaria, or that Asians are not afraid of tuberculosis—anyone who thinks this should come out to an Asian village and get acquainted.

More Misunderstandings

2. *That the common people oppose new ways of getting rid of diseases.* As evidence to the contrary, I would comment that the only two states in India that do not have mass BGG programmes are Madras and Bombay—two of the "most advanced." The latest news from Bahawalpur State—a remote spot in North Pakistan—is that the teams there are overwhelmed with work from people coming down the mountain passes in places where jeeps and even horses cannot go.

3. *That there is great risk of loss to our supplies.* Criminals there are, of course, although usually not so spectacular as those caught yesterday in the Jersey tunnel. The losses, in fact, are very small and there tends to be too much, rather than too little, machinery of control. In a hospital I visited only two weeks ago, a nurse earning less than $25 a month is financially responsible for anything that disappears from her ward while she is on duty. There are dangers, of course, in the tropics, especially to perishable supplies; but these are mostly due to slow or ill-coordinated administrative action, and the total of these is under 2 per cent.

4. *That occasional local political difficulties make work impossible in Asia.* As an example to the contrary, one insurgent group in Burma recently agreed to keep the peace while their area was being sprayed for malaria—and maybe longer, they promised, if the results were really good.

5. *That Asians have lived this way for centuries and don't expect action.* This is the most dangerous legend of all. The one thing that makes the Asia of today different from that of yesterday is that the word is getting around that it is not necessary to live on the borderline of starvation and weakened by disease; the people are beginning to demand that something be done—and promptly. Moreover they are less impressed by resolutions than by practical help that they can see with their own eyes.

Something Definite

Fortunately, our UNICEF-WHO (World Health Organization) joint projects have something definite to offer:

1. In malaria control campaigns the persons protected by UNICEF DDT will have more than doubled by the end of this year from 5 millions last year to nearly 12 millions.

2. In BGG anti-tuberculosis campaigns the number of persons starting tests has almost doubled: 9.2 millions for the first half year of 1953 as against 10.5 for all of last year. The 1953 target of 16 millions will be substantially exceeded.

3. In anti-yaws campaigns, despite the need to retrain staffs in revised techniques, the goal of 7 millions examined and 700,000 treated in 1953 will probably be reached. This will represent an increase of two-thirds over last year.

The significant thing about these three programmes is not only that the numbers are now impressive but that *the rate of increase* is so high.

A Dream Realized

In malaria we are seeing the realization of a dream; seven times the number of people protected three years ago. In this advance, UNICEF aid is not more than 10 per cent of the total; but that again illustrates one of the notable things about the concerted attack on disease with international aid. Thanks to good work by coordination committees, I know of not a single conflict in policy among the representatives of the various sources of aid, whether it be from the U.S., the Colombo Plan, or the United Nations. We are learning to practice what we have always agreed on in theory: that we are all on the same side against disease and that the test of good workmanship is that we shall divide the job so that the little money we have will go as far as possible.

Pakistan offers an example of advance under extraordinary difficulties. In spite of two years of bad crops and a most serious economic crisis, Pakistan is doubling its anti-malaria work of last year, and by next year will be prepared to use immediately the full output of 700 tons of DDT its own new plant, now under construction, will be producing.

The story of BGG is the most dramatic of all. When I spoke before this Board last March, I offered somewhat hesitantly a target of 16 million persons to start the test in 1953. This goal will be exceeded by more than ten per cent. In a previous report, it was mentioned that if the children starting the test from 1950 to the end of 1953—33 millions of them, each with an arm span of four feet—were to hold hands in a circle, they would reach around the world at the equator. That goal has already been reached.

The yaws campaign will just about reach its goals of 7 million people examined and 700,000 treated this year. If plans now under discussion in Indonesia mature, the annual number treated in Asia can, by the end of 1954, be raised to one million a year—three-fourths of them in Indonesia—and we will be well on the way to bringing yaws under control in all of Asia within ten years. But that can happen only if we translate these larger goals into definite working plans, financed for several years ahead and with quite precise targets.

Main Concern

In maternal and child welfare, the field of our main concern, the big job is still before us. From the money this Board has voted, only one-third of the equipment has been delivered to the centres, and one-fourth of the supplies. The

10,000 rudimentary delivery kits are eagerly awaited by the local midwives, who are being trained on the job, with the promise of a free kit when they have completed their training. It is a serious matter not to have the kits there when the period of training is completed, and we shall be very happy when these start arriving next January.

Considering how inexpensive the equipment and how few the drugs we are supplying, it is amazing how difficult it is to establish this supply line in comparison with that for a mass campaign. Every step of this programme is filled with difficulties. The distribution has to go through provincial and state medical stores. The drugs, although selected with the greatest care, are often new to the user. One needs to be sure that the staff in the local centre know how to use the drugs and that they can read the labels. The whole milk for infants, even though delivered in tins, should not be more than a year old. Pills must be varnished or they will melt in the bottle; but not too much, or they will not melt in the stomach.

All of these and a hundred other items need to be taken into account, beginning with the assurance that the equipment has actually been delivered unbroken. After that, the main thing is to make sure that every active centre always has the essential supplies and that no supplies unneeded are allowed to accumulate because of a mechanical distribution. All of this would be easy if there were plenty of well-trained staff, but it will take some years for this; in the meantime, we must do with what we have. By the end of 1954, however, the system will be operating, and in two years from now a qualitative appraisal will be possible. As a single example of the promise of maternal and child health (as well as malaria control) the death rate of infants in the town of Chiengmai, in North Thailand, has dropped more than 55 per cent within three years.

As to the future, we are not planning to spread widely into new types of programmes. We have plenty to do to deal with the enormous problems in the new fields we are working in now to help the mass programmes against malaria, yaws and tuberculosis march steadily and increasingly under national leadership.

We are making two new types of ventures: first, milk conservation in Bombay and, second, a plant for the manufacture of soya-bean milk powder in Indonesia. These are our first attempts to help make better use of local foods.

The Asian countries will also be

looking forward with keen interest to the policy lines established in environmental sanitation, a field untouched by us up to now. Also, there is a great need for a feasible trachoma-control programme.

The Future

As to the future of UNICEF, we can now be a little more certain about what we can do in the future than we have in the past. The cut-back in Technical Assistance funds is unfortunate because it introduces a note of uncertainty in a part of the world too full of them already. I hope that assistance by UNICEF in financing programme personnel will help ease the shock, so that Asia will continue to see the United Nations agencies standing together to work effectively for an agreed objective. For our job is to bring to Asia more than supplies and more than technical assistance; it is to bring renewed hope to departments of health that have all too often gone backward in the last grim decade. The test of our effectiveness is not only to spread the word that modern science can make a healthy world, but to get on with the job!

In order to do this, we need to do several things better than has been possible in the past.

1. We need to inform the governments what programmes we are willing to support and for how long. In fighting particular diseases, we should plan support for five years or even longer, if the prospects are that, by joint effort with the government, the disease can be brought under control. Only thus can we help departments of health get *new* money into their budgets.

2. We must be increasingly flexible in our conditions, in order to meet the inevitable small crises that are a part of life in Asia. When hundreds of staff are in the field, there is no time to debate details.

3. We must help build the projects we are assisting into the long-term development projects of the country concerned. This planning must be as precise as that required for building a big dam or a new railroad. It isn't enough to know how to cure a single case of yaws; we must know how to organize to cure a million cases a year.

In Asia we have made a beginning that is encouraging; but the big job is still ahead.

A conscience is satisfied if its owner is going in the direction of his past decisions, regardless of how easy or how hard that path may be. The conscience of Jesus was satisfied as he fulfilled his past decisions in going toward the cross. The conscience of Socrates was music in his ears as he challenged the tribunal of Athens.

And we each individually can only have peace of conscience as our minds ceaselessly search for a solution to the great problems of our day. Our consciences will not let our minds rest while around us the world is in hunger or illiteracy. We who have created and used an atom bomb must not have peace of mind until we create the channels for international cooperation and disarmament.

—Chas. MacKintosh

Marshall Violated Spirit of Nobel Prize—FOR

By unanimous action the Executive Committee of the Fellowship condemned as soon as it heard the news, the awarding of the 1953 Nobel Peace Prize to General George C. Marshall. The protest was released (but nowhere published, as yet) as a news and editorial item.

The statement makes reference first to the specification of Alfred Nobel, in his will, that the Peace Prize go to that person "who has worked the most or best for promoting brotherhood among people and for abolition or reduction of the standing armies, and for the establishment and spread of peace congresses."

Marshall, the Committee reminds us, "has done more than any other person to secure the largest professional military establishment in American history. During his tenure as Chief of Staff, Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense, he never swerved from his purpose to get a Universal Military Conscription law accepted. General Marshall wanted *permanent* conscription and was insistent that there should be no expiration date on the Universal Service bill which he had drawn up to submit to Congress."

After pointing out that the Marshall Plan, thought by much of the press to be the basis for awarding this year's prize to Marshall, has now become an instrument of power in the cold war, with the General's encouragement rather than disapproval, the Committee concludes: "The Fellowship of Reconciliation has never believed that peace will come through war or conscription for war, or through economic aid that is tied to the advancement of a military program. We regret that peacemaking has become so confused with war-making in the minds of some as to lead to the giving of peace awards to professional military men whose whole adult lives are devoted to the strengthening of military machines."

Europeans Continue To Come and Go

There seems to be no end to the string of visitors Europe is releasing for our eyes, ears and edification these days. Although Hugh Faulker has already returned to Britain (he just arrived!), we still have André Trocmé and Leslie and Wanda Hayman. And now comes advance word of visits by Pastor Wilhelm Mensching of the German pacifist movement and the widely-travelled Muriel Lester. Mensching, director of Freundschaftsheim (friendship house) at Petzen-bei-Bückeburg, arrives

early in 1954 to speak for the American Friends Service Committee.

Miss Lester, founder of Kingsley Hall in London's East End and an engaging travelling secretary of the International FOR, will speak under IFOR sponsorship. Her visit here will be part of her seventh round-the-world mission. Thus she will begin with the West Coast, speaking in the Northwest from February 10-26 and in the Southwest from February 28-March 18. The Midwest will claim her from March 21-April 8, while her last month here will be devoted to the East. John Nevin Sayre, at the Fellowship address, is soliciting engagements.

Trocmé and the Haymans are featured participants of the Conference on the Church and Peace, meeting December 7 to 10 in Detroit. From there, Trocmé heads home, while the Haymans move to other central and north Midwest audiences.

Rearmament Remains Big Issue in Japan

Pressure on Japan to rearm (for "defense") continues to be applied internally by Progressive Party elements and externally by the United States. Since it has become obvious that the suggested amendment of Article 9 of Japan's postwar Constitution ("Land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained.") might well be defeated in the required popular referendum, Premier Yoshida and the Progressive leader, Mamoru Shigemitsu, have united forces to obtain rearmament without amending the Constitution. Their current contention is that the anti-war clause does not prohibit rearmament for "defense."

The situation is complicated by mounting American rigidity in the matter of extending Mutual Security Aid to Japan without guarantees of her rearming at the pace and to the degree that America desires. Senator William Knowland took the occasion of his recent visits to Japan and other Far Eastern countries to make this very clear: "I will support further assistance (through MSA) only to those nations which, by action and performance, have demonstrated they want to work as a team in the effective defense of the people against the Communist tyranny of Soviet imperialism."

Where do the people stand in all this? Generally, they are still opposed to rearming (although recent troubles with South Korea over fishing rights in the Sea of Japan have introduced further fears of foreign infringement and aggression). They find it hard to understand why we are going back on an anti-war vow that we ourselves insisted on just a few short years ago. They also doubt their country's economic ability to support a full-fledged defense build up and would personally prefer that national money be spent for urgent civilian needs.

Correction

We have been asked to rectify the impression given by our caption describing the activities of the United Pacifists of West Chester, Pennsylvania, that all the members of this organization are FOR members. The group is actually made up of "united pacifists," many of them not FOR members.

Plans for Expansion Are Set in Motion

The national staff has recently given the final okay to three projects for the future which should be of interest to readers. These include a national field secretaryship, a membership campaign and a special mission to the churches.

1. In order that a new field secretary might receive the training and guidance he needs in his first year's work, a National Field Secretary has just been appointed to organize, finance and locate personnel for the new regions the National Council has authorized for more extensive FOR activity. (One will center around St. Louis, another around Cleveland, and another in the South.) Glenn Smiley, presently the Southwest regional man, has been chosen for this important and demanding work. He will spend approximately a year in each region to be opened up, serving in effect as the Regional Secretary until the new man is hired and working. He will be expected to spend almost all his time in the region, although organizing and visiting in other parts of the country will not be precluded. Of course, as the new regions are organized, he will function increasingly on a national level.

2. In place of a November 1953 Peace Roll Call, the staff has planned a Spring 1954 membership drive. The 160 or so FOR groups throughout the country that will be the focal points for this promotional campaign are being asked to set aside the month of March for a stress on membership. The staff is hoping that local wisdom and enthusiasm will prevail in this job of enrolling new members and reviving the interest o inactive or dropped members. Na tionally, however, staff visits an a variety of new appropriate litera ture are being outlined.

3. Under the leadership of Georg Houser, four or five cities will be from March 1 to May 31, the cen ters of a special FOR appeal t church youth. Volunteers will b recruited by regional or nationa staff persons and trained to tak major responsibility for this at tempt to bring the pacifist messag home to our church communities It is anticipated that training wi include delivering a speech for col lective criticism. After a satisfactor training period, these volunteer will be responsible for making con tact with youth groups, lining u speaking engagements, and ther fortified with literature being pre pared for young vocabularies an interests, "getting on with th job." Four or five pilot project ought to be sufficient, thinks th staff, to ascertain how practicabl and fruitful such a mission will be Although the proposed appeal is t the young people of our churches other age groups will not neces sarily be ignored.

Last Word on Nugent, Packer; Other Items

On October 19 the Suprem Court denied *Harry Nugent* an *Lester Packer* a rehearing of thei case. (The cases of the two CO were joined for this appeal. Earlier this year the Court decide against the young men, in a de cision supporting the Selectiv Service policy of keeping incrimi nating evidence in a CO cas secret. There is some feeling i

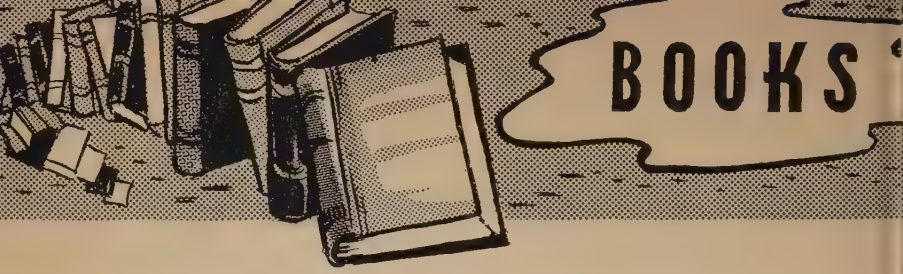
CO circles, however, that more litigation on this matter will be forthcoming. As is, the courts are still confused as to the proper use of the FBI reports, and there is every indication that attorneys defending COs in court will continue to argue for complete disclosure of the damaging testimony given by informers whose identity is now protected by Selective Service law. Some progress has been made recently, in that a resume of the FBI report is automatically available to the registrant.

Attorney General Brownell has just issued orders to all United States attorneys to oppose the acceptance of pleas of *Nolo Contendere.* It is the judge involved, rather than the United States attorney, who has the final word on whether or not a *Nolo* plea will be accepted, but the advice of the United States attorney is often followed. This plea is common in CO cases.

Gordon Carey of Altadena, California, a young CO recently in receipt of a 3-year sentence for refusing Army induction, stated in his own defense in Federal Court on October 20: "Government is a man-made institution and as such is capable of error. When it does err its patriotic citizens are necessarily saddened. And the duty of a citizen at such a time is to try to point out the error and rectify it. . . . I can find nowhere in my own experience and life any real indication that killing on a large scale in war is any more moral than individual murder. . . . There can be no justification for forcing a person to perform an immoral act. Yet governments everywhere have assumed this right of conscripting men to man their armies. . . . My only defense is a moral one. If I had not acted as I did, I would not have done what I believe to be God's will for me, nor would I have acted as a patriotic citizen should, trying to help this nation see that following a path of violence and dependence upon military force can only lead to a garrison state, and ultimately to destruction." Carey's father, a minister, has written of his son: "Though personally I believe in cooperation with the law, I cannot help admiring him for his courage and strength in his stand—it is greater than mine, I believe."

Sentenced recently, also, for the same offense were: *Harry Donske,* Los Angeles (3 years' probation); *Edward French,* Portland, Oregon (2 years' probation); *David Seaver,* Philadelphia (one day, a second sentence); *Paul Seaver,* Dave's twin, the same; *Glenn James,* Los Angeles (1 year); *Richard Blazej,* New York (4 years); and *David Hammack,* Los Gatos, California ($500 fine—Judge Dal Lemmon of San Francisco concluded that neither society nor the defendant could benefit from a prison sentence. This is the first case in the country, says the CCCO, since the passage of the Selective Service Act of 1948 where a CO has received a sentence of a fine without an accompanying period of probation or a prison term.)

Arrested recently for refusing induction were: *Charles Crawford,* California; *Carl Nead,* Indiana; *Eldon Bargen,* Kansas; *Harold Emond* and *Harry Emond,* Massachusetts.



Not a Re-hash

The Sun and the Umbrella, by Nels F. S. Ferré. Harper and Bros., 1953. 156 pp., $2.

Such discerning persons as Bishop Gerald Kennedy of the Methodist Church, Edwin McNeill Poteat and Howard Thurman go all-out, according to the jacket blurb, for this most recent of Nels Ferré's books. I have gone overboard with them.

This compact book is a gem in conception, a gem in the richness of its content, and gem-like in style as well. It would be difficult to find a wasted word and I cannot think of any I would have changed.

The Sun, in this modern parable, is God and immediate experience of Him. The Umbrella is what men who, of course, consider themselves Sun worshippers put between themselves and God. With Jews before Jesus' time, and also now in a measure, it is the Law, legality or legalism. With some Christians it is certain theological conceptions about Jesus or Christ himself that constitute the Umbrella. They pray, "Through Christ our Lord," but, Ferré observes, they never get through to God. With others the Bible is the Umbrella, or the Church.

Let no one conclude that this volume is a re-hash of old and "simple"—in the derogatory sense—edifying truths. It is edifying and, I believe, sets forth truths, bu incisive and profound ones. I seems to me that we have here summing up of Christian theology which preserves the values o evangelical theology and experience and at the same time com mends itself as valid and universa to those under the influence o modern currents of thought, in cluding Marxism, and to adherent of other world religions, such a Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, etc There are practical chapters base on such a theology on what migh be called "missions" to Jews, Hin dus, "Communists and other pa gans," *and* to Christians.

Fellow-members of Nels Ferré i F.O.R. will be grateful for hi crystal clear and ringing statemen on the Christian attitude towar war, printed elsewhere in thi issue and beginning: "The Churc of the Universal God will develo such an inviolable community tha for its members war becomes un thinkable."

I was about to close with th suggestion that this book should b adopted as the official statemen of F.O.R. theology, but I suppos that would be making an Um brella of it. So I express instea the hope that all F.O.R. familie and a lot of others will get an read this book—students, etc., us it as a basis for study groups—t help them set through to the Sun

—A. J. M.

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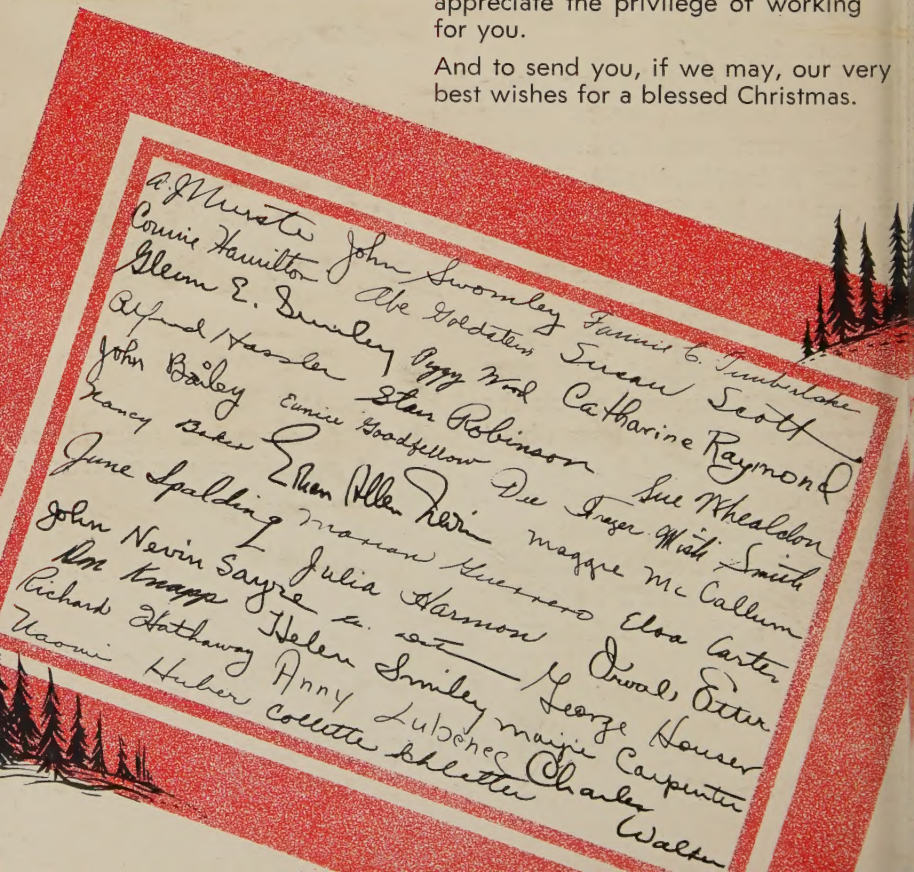
And to send you, if we may, our very best wishes for a blessed Christmas.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